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4 December 1981

NOTE FOR: DCI

FROM : Bob Gates

Maurice Ernst's paper is attached.

While we eventually come to the same conclusion, I have two general disagreements with Maurice:

-- First, I think his paper is much too optimistic. Maurice is convinced that the Polish situation has bottomed out and is beginning on the upswing. I am not convinced that the situation has bottomed out, but even if it has I believe that it could remain at the present ^{low} level indefinitely. I see no general upswing.

-- Second, Maurice claims that as the situation in Poland improves we can hope to see the Poles become somewhat more independent in foreign policy and also somewhat less responsive to the Soviets in the Warsaw Pact. I strongly disagree. The Poles know, and have demonstrated repeatedly in the past year, that the minimum price for their experiment in pluralism is absolute fealty to Soviet foreign policy and their military commitments under the Warsaw Pact. I am certain they will take great care not to give the Soviets serious doubt in these areas. They know this is a precondition for keeping the Soviets out.

I have various quibbles elsewhere in the paper as noted on a draft also attached.



Bob Gates

25X1

Attachment

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